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MARTIN MARPRELATE AND SHAKESPEARE'S FLUELLEN

A NEW THEORY OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MARPRELATE TRACTS

BY

J. DOVER WILSON

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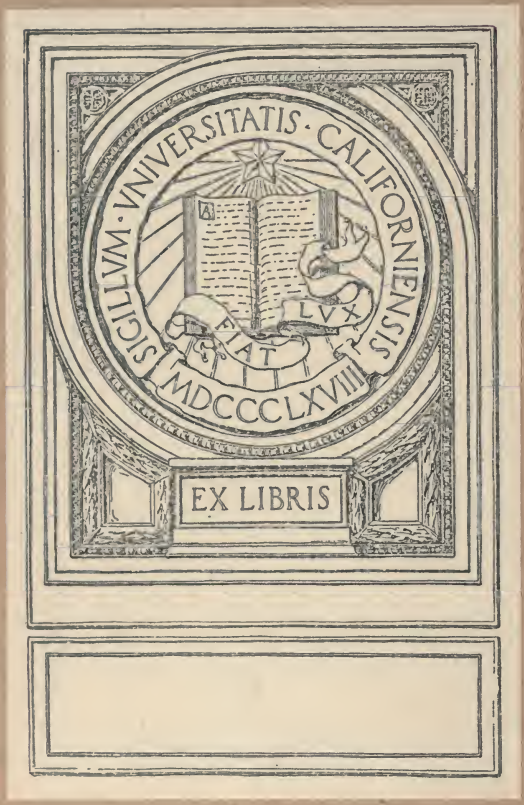
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MARTIN MARPRELATE AND SHAKESPEARE'S FLUELLEN

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A NEW THEORY OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MARPRELATE TRACTS.

'I'll tell you there is good men porn at Monmouth.'
—Fluellen.

'Given at my castle between two Wales' . . .
—Martin's 'Epistle.'

I.

THE Marprelate tracts are seven in number, if we include the broadside commonly known as 'The Minerals.' The first two, 'The Epistle' and 'Epitome,' were in preparation in May, 1588,[1] but 'The Epistle' was not printed till about 15th October, while its sequel followed at the end of the next month. Meanwhile Waldegrave, the printer, in fear of detection, was forced to move his press about from place to place, with the

[1] 'The Library,' Second Series, X., 232.

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assistance of the Welsh puritan reformer John Penry. At the beginning of February, 1589, he was lurking at Coventry, whence he issued, about the 20th, the broadside mentioned above, and just over a month later 'Hay any worke for Cooper,' the third of the tracts proper. Directly this was finished, he began to make preparations for leaving Coventry, and meeting one Sharpe, the bookbinder, afterwards the chief informer of the Martinist circle, he told him that he intended to go down into Devonshire to print Cartwright's answer to the Rhemish 'Testament,' for the copy of which he had long been waiting. Presumably, therefore, he went to Devonshire at the end of March. Sharpe informs us next that 'about May day' he met Penry, who told him that 'Waldegrave was surely in hand in some corner with the printing of Master Cartwright's "Testament," that he looked daily for his "Appellation" from him, and that then he should go in hand with "More work for Cooper."'[1] Penry's reference to the last work shows that Waldegrave was still regarded as the Marprelate printer. He had taken with him, moreover, 'the Dutch letters' in which the first three 'Martins' had been printed. The next news we have of him is that he has gone to Rochelle. This Penry tells Sharpe in the second week of May. It was now necessary to obtain the services of a printer to take the place of Waldegrave, whom the Martinists appear to have looked upon henceforth in the light of a deserter.

[1] Arber, 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 100.

Towards the end of May one Hodgkins was engaged, but it is remarkable that though he had type and two presses to work with, nothing was done for two months after his engagement. It was, in fact, not until 22nd July that the next Martinist tract, known as 'Martin Junior,' appeared, and it was followed a week later by 'Martin Senior.' These publications were issued from Wolston near Coventry, and immediately afterwards Hodgkins moved to Manchester with the copy of 'More worke for Cooper,' where, on 14th August, he was captured by the authorities. This disaster silenced the Martinists for a time, and 'The Protestation,' the seventh and last of the series, did not appear until about the end of September.

It is necessary to remind ourselves of these elementary facts concerning the publication of the famous Marprelate tracts, if we are to understand the drift of the argument that follows. Of the authorship of the tracts we know nothing. At present there are two candidates for the honour—John Penry, who was chief director of the press and its movements from beginning to end; and Job Throckmorton, who appears upon the scene about the same time as Hodgkins, and takes an active interest in the production of 'Martin Junior,' 'Martin Senior,' and 'The Protestation.' I think it likely, as I shall show later, that both these men had a hand in writing the last three tracts; but I am convinced that neither was responsible for the first three—that is to say, 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke.' In other words, 'Martin Marprelate, gentleman,' is some third

person whom it is our business to discover. There are strong grounds for refusing to identify either Penry or Throckmorton with Martin himself. Most students of the tracts and of Penry's acknowledged work have long ago put him out of court for reasons of style. And we have it, on the authority of his intimate friend John Udall, that soon after 'The Epistle' was published, Penry 'wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he did deny it (*i.e.*, the authorship) with such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.'[1] Throckmorton, therefore, has hitherto been the favourite both with some Elizabethan and most modern students of the business. His behaviour was highly suspicious, and his style not very unlike Martin's. Yet in his case, too, we are met, as Martin himself would put it, 'with a flat *non plus*' in the oath which he offered to take in court 'that I am not Martin, I knew not Martin, and concerning what I stand indicted of, I am as clear as the child unborn.'[2] Furthermore, in spite of the evidence which we have against him, the authorities of the day left him unmolested; he appears to have been openly acquitted by a judge who investigated his case at Warwick; and Burghley himself, according to Throckmorton's own account, stated in Parliament 'that he knew the said Job Throckmorton to be an honest man.'[2]

Emptying our minds, therefore, of all preconceived theories about their authorship, let us take the tracts in our hands—as we may easily do now,

[1] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
[2] 'Defence of Job Throckmorton,' sig. E ii.

thanks to Mr. Pierce's edition (James Clarke and Co., 1911)—and see if they can tell us anything about the man or men who wrote them. We have already noticed the four months of silence which elapsed between 'Hay any worke' (23rd March) and 'Martin Junior' (22nd July). This curious gap divides the series into two groups. But the division is not merely one of time. When the ball is set rolling again it is ostensibly two new writers who take up the pen—writers who call themselves the 'sons' of Martin Marprelate, and conceal their identity behind the pseudonyms, Martin Junior, Martin Senior. Still more interesting is it to observe that 'Martin Junior,' the earliest tract of the second group, contains a number of 'theses' which Martin Junior gives to the world in the condition in which he received them, declaring that they were 'set down and collected by that famous and renowned clerk, the reverend Martin Marprelate the great.' The said theses are curiously fragmentary and abrupt; many break off in the middle of the sentence, and of the last the only words given are 'That these prelates . . .' upon which Martin Junior comments: 'Here he left his writings unperfite and thus perfitely begins the son.' All this, of course, is no new discovery. Nobody who reads the tracts can avoid noticing it. But hitherto it has been lightly passed over, as part of the Marprelate game, as a new device of Martin's to catch the ear of the public. Yet is it really nothing but 'flim flam'? Mr. Pierce for one sees in these broken sentences 'a loophole through which we may escape from all our

conjectures, and imagine some great and still unknown English reformer as the writer of the Marprelate tracts.'[1] What if the peculiar features of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior,' which we have hitherto taken as jokes, are really clues—clues to the identity of Martin himself? It is at least worth while following them out and seeing whither they lead us.

Assuming then that things are what they seem—that Martin Marprelate is one man, and Martin Junior and Senior two others, that the first has somehow disappeared, and that the others are attempting to carry on the campaign against the bishops with the help of such fragments as he had left behind—we have next to enquire how Martin Marprelate's 'unperfite papers' came into his 'sons'' hands, and why, having kept silence for four months, he himself seems incapable of providing any more copy for the press. But we must walk warily. Here, for example, is a pitfall into which we might grievously stumble had we not fortunately the evidence of the captured printers to warn us off. 'If you demand of me,' writes Martin Junior, 'where I found this [*i.e.*, the manuscript of the theses], the truth is, it was taken up (together with other papers) besides a bush, where it had dropped from somebody passing by that way.'[2] This pretty little mystery is cleared up for us by John Hodgkins, the printer, in his examination after the arrest. Having related how he went by appointment to Throckmorton's house at Hasely, where he met Penry, he continues, 'The next morning,

[1] Pierce, 'The Marprelate Tracts,' p. 289. [2] 'Tracts,' p. 324.

taking leave of the said Throckmorton, Mr. Penry would needs bring him on his way; where, as they were walking towards Warwick, they found in the path, within a bolt-shot of the house, a great part of the said theses, which the said Hodgkins took up and printed.'[1] This is one of the characteristic Martinist tricks. The paper had, of course, been carefully put there first by Penry, who then led Hodgkins to the spot. The point was that the latter, if caught, could lie with a clear conscience. He could deny that he had received the paper at the hands of any man, and thus his employers' names could be kept out of the business. But printer and employers had reckoned without the rack, and it is to the rack that we owe the above confession. The 'sons of Martin,' therefore, like boys on a paper-chase, were laying a false trail for the pursuivants of the archbishop, when they placed these papers 'besides a bush' in the path to Warwick, and it is idle for us to follow it up. The tracts 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior,' however, are full of other clues which have a more promising appearance.

Both tracts are addressed as much to Martin himself as to the general public. They repeatedly complain that Martin's sons 'cannot hear from their father,' that 'he hath been tongue-tied these four or five months,' that they do not know where he is, that 'he keepeth himself secret from his sons,' that they are even 'ignorant if he be living or dead.'[2] Martin Marprelate has vanished off

[1] Pierce, 'Historical Introductions,' p. 333.
[2] 'Tracts,' pp. 322, 323, 361, etc.

the face of the earth, and his associates, burning to carry on the campaign against the bishops which he had set on foot, are appealing to their lost master to show himself once more to the people. They are not, however, without definite fears as to what may have happened to him. Martin Junior exhorts his father, if he 'have escaped out of the danger of gunshot,' to 'begin again to play the man'; he declares that some 'give out that in the service of his country and her Majesty's he died or was in great danger at the Groine'; and Martin Senior, upbraiding his brother for publishing the theses, asks him, 'If my father should be hurt either at the Groine or at the suburbs of Lisbon, is this the way either to cure him or to comfort him?' [1] Besides these there are several other references to the expedition to Portugal, and the writers are constantly harping upon the haunting suspicion that Martin Marprelate has been slain in battle. [2] The expedition in question, as we shall presently see, sailed from Plymouth on 18th April, and returned to England on 1st July. If Martin took part in it, we can well understand why he remained 'tongue-tied for four or five months,' or in other words, why no Marprelate tracts appeared between 23rd March and 22nd July. But how could the 'unperfite papers' have reached the hands of the young Martins, when they could hear nothing of their father? The fleet arrives on 1st July. Hodgkins goes to Throckmorton's house about 15th July. 'Martin Junior,' which contains the fragmentary

[1] 'Tracts,' pp. 323, 351.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 359, 380, *et passim.*

theses, appears on 22nd July. The irresistible conclusion is that Martin had either come with the fleet, and was now in hiding, or had sent his papers by some messenger, with orders that they should be conveyed to Penry. The papers certainly came over sea. Martin Junior as good as tells us so in the following remarkable passage: 'It would have pitied your heart to see how the poor papers were rain and weather beaten, even truly in such a sort as they could scant be read to be printed. There was never a dry thread in them. These sea-journeys are pitiful I perceive.'[1] Martin Senior also refers to his father's 'scrabbled and weather-beaten papers,' while the writer who was responsible for the second part of 'The Protestation' concludes his account of 'The Epistle' to 'More worke,' which was captured with the printers, as follows: 'with these and such like points, with an honourable mention of all noble soldiers, a complaint of the loss of my papers, and the misery of sea-journeys, I ended my 'Pistle, being the first tome of "More worke for the Cooper."'[2]

The reference to 'noble soldiers' leads us into the last passage from the tracts which need be considered at this juncture. It is to my mind the most important clue of all, though at first it seemed to me quite incomprehensible. Martin Senior, in the course of a disquisition upon the lordly retinue of the archbishop, which as he states comprised 'seven score horse,' says to his brother Martin

[1] 'Tracts,' p. 334. [2] *Ibid.* p. 416.

Junior, 'It may be thou wilt say thy father is every day in the week able to make as many men of his own charges; I would he were not'; and then, as if he feared he had said too much, he hastily adds, 'If he be, it is more than I know, I promise thee; and I think more than thou canst prove.'[1] If these words mean anything, they imply that Martin Marprelate could command a larger retinue than the archbishop himself, which in itself is an interesting discovery enough. But the most curious point of the passage is to be found in the words: 'I would he were not.' Does Martin Senior regret that his father is a powerful and influential personage? It would be absurd to suppose it. No: the meaning clearly is that Martin's retinue is a regiment or an army—that he is, in short, a superior officer or a general; and Martin Senior, who fears that his father may be slain, is lamenting the fact that Martin's profession as a military leader should oblige him to risk his life and therefore his cause. Martin, we are beginning to see, was a person of some importance; he was no mere common soldier or recruit, but an officer and probably a gentleman.

One more point must be noticed before we leave the Martinist side of the evidence. Waldegrave, it will be remembered, went down to Devonshire at the end of March, just before the fleet left Plymouth. By the middle of May he was already in Rochelle. Did Martin take him there on his way to Portugal? Once again the con-

[1] Pierce, 'Tracts,' p. 361.

clusion seems irresistible. Our plot is certainly beginning to thicken.

II.

It is time that we should consider this Portuguese expedition more closely. 1588, the year which saw the launching of Martin's little fleet of paper boats against the bishops, saw also Philip's armada of unwieldy galleons sailing against a bastard queen and a heretic England; and before the winds of God had scattered the last of the Spanish ships, Drake and Norris were fitting out a counter-armada for the Peninsula. The ostensible object of the expedition was the restoration of Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal. He accompanied the fleet, and it was hoped that the Portuguese would rise in his favour against Philip. A land campaign was, therefore, part of the scheme. About 7,000 troops were embarked for the purpose, and Sir Roger Williams, the best English soldier of the day, was appointed third in command after Drake and Norris, with the understanding that he would take charge of the military operations. Elizabeth behaved in her usual temporising and niggardly fashion; the supplies of men and provisions were inadequate; the start, originally fixed for 1st February, was put off from week to week. At length, on 18th April, after waiting in Plymouth over a month for a favourable wind, the fleet put out to sea, and within six days reached Corunna (the Groine) on 23rd April, without touching at any

intermediate port. Here the army was landed and an assault was directed against the city. But though the lower town was carried, the upper town remained impregnable, and after an indecisive battle with a relieving Spanish force, the generals on 8th May thought it best to put their men on board again and try their fortune at another point of the coast. Hitherto Sir Roger Williams had taken no part in the expedition. In company with the Earl of Essex, he had sailed separately from England in his ship, the 'Swiftsure,' and about 20th May he joined the fleet, giving out that he had long been searching for it without success. The English now attacked Peniche, from whence they intended to march upon Lisbon. On 23rd May the troops were again landed, Sir Roger Williams taking command. The castle of Peniche was captured, and on 25th May the English arrived before Lisbon. The suburbs were soon in their hands, but, as at Corunna, the fortified city itself remained unassailable, and since the people of the country did not rise to support Don Antonio, as was expected, the invaders were forced reluctantly to put out to sea once again, about 6th June. The expedition, though ending in no such disaster as had met the Spanish Armada in 1588, was as much of a failure. After a little more perfunctory singeing of the King of Spain's beard at Vigo and other places, the fleet set sail for England, which it reached on 1st July.

Waldegrave, as we saw, was in Rochelle before the middle of May. It is therefore impossible for him to have sailed with the main fleet, which

proceeded straight from England to Corunna without a stop. Yet Martin, if we are to believe his sons, took part in the expedition, and Martin, if he had the means, was obviously the right person to convey the printer to the Huguenot city of refuge, where he would be out of reach of Whitgift's long arm. The only ship belonging to the fleet which did not sail direct to Corunna was the 'Swiftsure.' Leaving England about the same time as Drake and Norris, it was more than a month on the high seas before it fell in with them. Why did it not put out with the other ships in the first place? and what was it doing between 18th April and 20th May? To answer these questions, it is necessary to say something of the careers and persons of its two illustrious passengers, Sir Roger Williams and the Earl of Essex.

Born in 1567, the Earl of Essex was a young man of twenty-two at the time of the expedition to Portugal, but he was already the chief favourite of Queen Elizabeth. Leicester, his step-father, introduced the handsome youth to court in 1584, with the intention of making him his successor in the queen's favour. But Essex, while realising his interest in flattering and making love to the ageing Elizabeth, had a full measure of the Elizabethan lust for action and glory. It was natural, therefore, that he should delight in the company of Sir Roger Williams, a man some thirty years his senior, the hero of a dozen sieges and battles, the bravest and most dashing soldier of the day. Williams, too, was a person of quaint and ready wit, of an

amusingly pedantic turn of mind, and withal of sterling honesty of purpose. The son of Thomas Williams of Penrhôs, Monmouthshire, he also no doubt attracted Essex as a Welshman, for the favourite residence of the young nobleman was his house at Llanfey in Pembrokeshire, where in 1583-4 he had spent two of the happiest years of his life.[1] The two men had probably first struck up an acquaintance in the Netherlands, where both served under Leicester in the campaign of 1585-6, and had received knighthood from their commander's hands for conspicuous valour in the field. Leicester indeed could hardly speak too highly of Williams at this time. 'Roger Williams,' he writes to Walsingham, 6th October, 1586, 'is worth his weight in gold, for he is no more valiant than he is wise, and of judgment to govern his doings.'[2] At the end of 1586 Essex returned to England, but the Welsh knight remained in the field, distinguishing himself especially in the defence of Sluys, until its fall on 30th June, 1587. Hearing of his friend's predicament, Essex had attempted to escape from Court to the Netherlands, but was caught by the Queen's orders and brought back again. Williams, however, was now sent to London by Leicester with the news of the fall of Sluys, and with a letter of special recom-

[1] W. B. Devereux, 'Lives of the Earls of Essex,' i., pp. 171-2. Essex's steward at this time, as Dr. McKerrow has pointed out to me, was another Welshman, Sir Gilly Meyrick, who was, in 1601, hanged for his share in the performance of Shakespeare's 'Richard II.' Anthony Wood states that he was Williams' 'kinsman.'

[2] 'Dict. Nat. Biog.,' Williams.

mendation. He remained in England, and was next year made master of the horse under Leicester, to whom the command of the troops, mobilised to resist the Spanish invasion, was entrusted. At this time, however, we find Leicester complaining on one occasion that Williams was frequently absenting himself from his duties without leave.[1] When all danger from the Armada was passed, Williams went to the Netherlands once again, in the train of Sir John Norris; but he was only there a month, since Norris arrived about 9th October, and on 10th November despatched Williams to England with a letter to Walsingham.[2] After this we have no reason for thinking that Williams left London again for several months. The expedition to Portugal was now in preparation, and he received his appointment as third in command. Yet here again there was an apparent neglect of duty. Instead of going down to Plymouth with Drake and Norris to see after the men and the fleet, he remained at the capital, seeing no doubt a good deal of his young friend, Essex.

And then follows the remarkable story of the 'Swiftsure,' a story which no historian has been able properly to explain. Essex was on fire to go to Portugal, but Elizabeth would not hear of it. He was now necessary to her happiness: 'When she is abroad nobody near her but my Lo. of Essex: and at night, my Lord is at cards, or one

[1] 'Dict. of Nat. Biog.,' *op. cit.*

[2] Bertie, 'Five Generations of a Loyal House,' i., pp. 224-6, 233. The account given in the 'Dict. of Nat. Biog.' of Williams' movements at the end of 1588 and during 1589 is very misleading. There is no mention, for example, of the Portuguese expedition.

game or another with her, that he cometh not to his own lodging till birds' sing in the morning,' as a contemporary letter-writer expresses it.[1] A man of Essex's temper might well grow tired of such a life, and he determined to try once again to escape from his aged Circe. On 3rd April he and Williams made a dash for the fleet, covering on horseback more than two hundred and twenty miles in less than thirty-six hours. When they reached Plymouth the wind was blowing straight into port, but Essex declared 'that he would not stay two hours in Plymonth, howsoever the wind was.' Accordingly the 'Swiftsure,' the ship which had been assigned to Williams, put out to sea, and was lost sight of for the next five weeks! Elizabeth meanwhile was in a fury. Personages of no less importance than Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Huntingdon were sent, one after the other, post-haste to Plymouth, to find out what they could of the truants' whereabouts. They returned with empty hands. Angry letters were sent to Drake and Norris, to which they replied that they were as ignorant and innocent as the rest.[2] Nothing could be heard of either Williams or Essex; they appeared to have vanished into thin air. Some time afterwards the queen learnt that the 'Swiftsure,' instead of putting right out to sea, as everyone supposed, had turned into Falmouth, where it remained quietly for some ten days, eventually leaving England about the same date as the rest of the fleet, but not coming up with it, as we have seen, until a month later. Still without news of

[1] Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 186. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 195-8.

the missing ship, except that it had been at Falmouth, and supposing that it had found the fleet, Elizabeth, on 4th May, drafted the following extraordinary letter to Drake and Norris:

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Although we doubt not but of yourselves you have so thoroughly weighed the heinousness of the offence lately committed by Roger Williams that you have both discharged him from the place and charge which was appointed him in that army, and committed the same to some other meet person (as we doubt not but you have choice of as sufficient as he is), and that you have also laid punishment upon him according to his desert; yet we would not but you should also know from ourself, by these our special letters, our just wrath and indignation against him, and lay before you his intolerable contempt against ourself, and the authority you have from us, in that he forsook the army, and conveyed away also one of our principal ships from the rest of the fleet. In which points his offence is in so high a degree, that the same deserveth by all laws to be punished by death, which if you have not already done (and whereunto we know your authority as General doth warrant you), then we will and command you that you sequester him from all charge and service, and cause him to be safely kept, so as he slip not away until you shall know our further pleasure therein, as you will answer for the contrary at your perils; for as we have authority to rule, so we look to be obeyed, and to have obedience directly and surely continued unto us, and so look to be answered herein at your hands. Otherwise we will think you unworthy of the authority you have, and that you know not how to use it. In the mean time we have also found it strange, that, before your departing from Plymouth, you should either be so careless, or suffer yourselves so easily to be abused, that any of our ships, much more a principal ship, should be

in such manner conveyed away from the rest of the fleet, and afterwards, also being so near as Falmouth (as we understood) should not by your commandment and direction be stayed; a matter which we cannot but remember unto you, and yet we do hope that you are no partakers of the offence which is committed.

And if Essex be now come into the company of the fleet, we straightly charge you that, all dilatory excuse set apart, you do forthwith cause him to be sent hither in safe manner; which if you do not, you shall look to answer for the same to your smart, for these be no childish actions, nor matters wherein you are to deal by cunning of devises, to seek evasions, as the customs of lawyers is; neither will we be so satisfied at your hands. Therefore consider well of your doings herein.[1]

It is not certain that this letter was actually despatched. The draft was submitted to Walsingham, who, in his reply to Windibank, the Queen's Secretary, advises that it should not be sent, since Sir Roger Williams was so popular that his arrest would probably lead to a fatal mutiny; but he significantly adds that the letter 'was in as mild terms as could be expected under the circumstances.'[2] On the face of it, the utmost that could be charged against Williams was the technical offence, no doubt from the military point of view grave enough, that he had 'conveyed away' for a few days one of the ships of the fleet, for neither Elizabeth nor Walsingham knew at this time of the month's desertion. Yet Elizabeth does not hesitate to say that Williams' 'offence is in so high a degree that the same

[1] Devereux, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201.
[2] J. S. Corbett. 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' II., p. 327 n.

deserveth by all the laws to be punished by death,' and Walsingham, hard-headed Walsingham, agrees with her. The historians explain the letter as the outburst of an angry woman slighted by her lover, and no doubt they are partly right; but, in that case, why should the whole weight of the Queen's wrath fall upon Williams? Why, too, did Williams and Essex leave London at that particular moment? It is true that Essex was anxious to fly from Court, but Drake and Norris were probably aware of his intention and would in any case give Williams due warning before they set sail. Now, on April 3rd there was no prospect at all of the fleet's departure; the winds were not only still adverse but blowing a hurricance outside port. Only imminent danger to one of the parties concerned will adequately explain the headlong career of Williams and Essex to Plymouth. In short, I am persuaded that there was something more behind this affair than a quarrel between the favourite and his royal mistress. Curious rumours were afloat. Elizabeth, writes Windibank to Walsingham, was 'strangely informed against' Drake and Norris, whom she evidently suspected of being in complicity with Williams.[1] And when the 'Swiftsure' joined the other ships on 20th May, the tongues of the fleet discussed their previous absence and whispered of secret doings. We have a contemporary account of the expedition written by one of the officers of the fleet, which states that Essex 'put off in the same wind from Falmouth that we left Plymouth in; where he lay, because he would avoid the importunities of messengers that were

[1] 'State Papers Domestic' (Eliz.), ccxxii., 50.

daily sent for his return, *and some other causes more secret to himself*.'[1] Finally, although Essex returned to England about 6th June in obedience to a peremptory letter, and was speedily forgiven, the next thing we hear of Williams is that he is fighting for Henry of Navarre. There is no evidence that he returned to England with the fleet on 1st July, and the presumption is that he took service with Navarre immediately after the Portuguese expedition. On 28th September, Lord Willoughby landed at Dieppe with an English force to assist the French King. This Williams joined, taking part with his usual reckless bravery in the attack on Paris. Willoughby found the utmost difficulty in getting letters conveyed home through the enemy, who now lay right across his line of communication. Williams alone, Willoughby informs Elizabeth, could be trusted to win through in safety, and he was accordingly made the bearer of a letter dated 29th October, in which he himself was specially commended for his services and brave conduct.[2] He reached England, and under such circumstances, Elizabeth, whatever her grudge against him, could scarcely have received him with anything but graciousness. Possibly Willoughby sent him home in this way on purpose to help him obtain the pardon. Possibly, too, by this time Essex had prevailed upon the Queen to forgive his friend. Williams, however, returned to France, where, except for occasional visits to London, he spent most of his time in harness until his death in 1595.

[1] 'A True Coppie of a Discourse,' 1589. Grosart, 'Miscellanea Antiqua Poetica,' III., 68. (The italics are mine.)

[2] Bertie *op. cit.*, pp. 271 n., 272, 300.

He died a wealthy man, leaving everything to the Earl of Essex, who gave him a sumptuous funeral with military honours at St. Paul's.

The reader will by this time be aware of the direction in which the evidence is taking us. The suggestion is that Martin Marprelate was Sir Roger Williams; that he planned the campaign and wrote the first three tracts while kicking his heels in England between his return from Sluys in June, 1587, and his departure for Portugal in April, 1589; that either actual discovery or the fear of it prompted his extraordinary flight from London; that he took Waldegrave, his printer, on board the 'Swiftsure' at Falmouth and conveyed him out of harm's way to Rochelle, where he himself and Essex may have been detained by ill winds for a week or so; and that finally, learning from Essex that it was not yet safe to return to England in July, he sent his notes, with some half-finished tracts and 'More worke for the Cooper,' by someone in the returning fleet, who conveyed them to Penry's hands. True, Williams never went to the Groine, as Martin Junior and Senior suggested, but in the nature of the case they could not know that fact; they knew nothing except that Martin had sailed to Portugal and had not returned. So far, our argument has been based upon a number of remarkable coincidences. Let us sum these up in the form of a time chart before we proceed:

1587.

30th June.

Fall of Sluys. Williams comes to England.

Field, Penry and others arranging for a violent attack upon the bishops.

1588.

May.
Armada leaves Spain.
Williams frequently absents himself withont leave from the army.

c., 10th July.
Armada in the Channel.

29th July.
Battle of Gravelines.

c. 9th October.
Williams goes to Netherlands with Norris.

10th November.
Williams returns to England.

May.
By this 'The Epistle' and 'Epitome' already taking shape.

29th September.
Marprelate press set up at East Molesey.

c. 15th October.
'Epistle' published. The press moved to Fawsley before 1st November.

c. 29th November.
'The Epitome' published.

1589.

February.
Williams appointed third in command of Portuguese Expedition, but remains in London.

3rd April.
Williams and Essex dash to Plymouth.

7th April.
The 'Swiftsure' puts in at Falmouth.

c. 18th April.
The fleet leaves England. About the same time the 'Swiftsure' sails away and disappears for a month.

20th May.
'Swiftsure' joins the fleet.

23rd May.
Assault of Peniche by Williams and Essex.

25th May.
Attack on Lisbon.

c. 20th February.
'The Minerals' printed.

23rd March.
'Hay any worke' printed. Waldegrave goes to Devonshire.

c. 18th April.
'Martin' leaves England as an 'honourable soldier.'

c. 10th May.
Penry hears that Waldegrave is in Rochelle.

During the summer Waldegrave prints 'Th' Appellation,' 'M. Some' and 'A Dialogue.'

1589—*continued.*

c. 6th June.
Essex returns to England.

1st July.
The fleet comes home.

?
Williams joins Navarre's army.

1st August.
Assassination of Henry III.

c. 15th September.
Williams with Henry of Navarre at Dieppe.

28th September.
English troops land at Dieppe.

25th October.
Attack on Paris.

29th October.
Williams brings Willoughby's letter to Elizabeth.

c. 1st July.
Martin's papers reach Penry's hands in 'weather beaten' condition. 'Theses' copied out and 'Martin Junior' and 'Senior' written.

c. 15th July.
Hodgkins comes to Hasely.

22nd July.
'Martin Junior' printed.

29th July.
'Martin Senior' printed.

14th August.
The press and printers captured at Manchester.

? September.
Waldegrave comes to Hasely.[1]

15th September–15th October.
About this time the 'Protestation' written and printed.

? October.
Penry flies to Scotland.

early 1590.
Waldegrave becomes Royal Printer in Scotland.

As far as dates go, the above table presents only one obstacle to our theory. 'The Protestation,' 'published by the worthie gentleman Martin Marprelate,' was written and printed when Williams was in France. More will be said about this later, but here it is worth noting that 'The Protestation' synchronises with Williams' presence at Dieppe, whence communication with England was easy.

[1] 'THE LIBRARY,' Second Series, VIII., 357.

III.

Up to the present we have established, with I think fair certainty, the following points: (1) That Martin was a military officer or general who took part in the expedition of 1589; (2) that Waldegrave left Devonshire for Rochelle about the same time as the fleet sailed for Portugal, and in all probability was taken there in the 'Swiftsure'; (3) that there is some mystery hitherto unexplained attaching to Williams' conduct and Elizabeth's wrath against him; (4) that there is nothing chronologically impossible in the supposition that Williams wrote the first three Marprelate tracts.

Sir Roger Williams, then, is a very *possible* candidate for the authorship; but we have now to ask ourselves whether he was in any sense a *likely* one. Is there anything to indicate that Essex, who was the intimate of Williams, had any special knowledge of the business or was likely to sympathise with it? Do the tracts give us any more clues about the personality of Martin which agree with what we know about Sir Roger? Could the Welsh knight wield the pen as well as the sword? Was he a puritan? Does his known character display any of those whimsical qualities which are strikingly exemplified in the pages of the tracts? These and similar questions demand answers before our theory can claim proper recognition.

That Martin had friends at Court is a commonplace of Marprelate scholarship. The anti-Martinist writers, and especially Pasquil, constantly lamented that great men, who are, of course, unnamed,

encouraged the puritans in order that they themselves might profit by the further secularisation of church property which would result from the abolition of episcopacy.[1] The chief of these was undoubtedly the Earl of Leicester, to whom all puritans looked for patronage, and in whose house they held secret conclaves.[2] But Leicester died on 4th September, 1588, just before the appearance of 'The Epistle,' though he probably knew that something was on foot, since it is recorded in the evidence against the Martinists 'that Penry hath said before any of these libels came forth, that a nobleman deceased did encourage him to write bitterly against the bishops and that (if he were discovered) he should not be imprisoned by the commissioners but by some others for a fashion and so shortly after delivered.'[3] Essex, who succeeded Leicester as Elizabeth's favourite, succeeded him also as leader of the puritan party at court, and Whitgift in 1589 opposed his election to the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford on the ground that 'he was generally looked upon as a great patron of the puritans.' It is to him that Martin obviously refers in his 'Epistle' when he bids Whitgift 'Remember your brother Haman. Do you think there is never a Mordecai to step to our gracious Esther for preserving the lives of her faithfullest and best subjects, whom you so mortally

[1] McKerrow, 'Nashe,' i., p. 75, l. 11; p. 94, l. 26; p. 102, l. 7; p. 114. *cp.* also the remarkable Story of the Bear (Leicester) told by Nashe himself, pp. 221-6.

[2] *e.g.*, 'The lecture in my Lord of Leicester's house,' referred to in 'M. Some laid open,' p. 2.

[3] Arber, 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 117.

hate and bitterly persecute?'[1] Martin Senior, again, in his mock 'oration of the archbishop to the pursuivants,' puts this significant passage into Whitgift's mouth: 'In faith I think they do my lord of Essex great wrong, that say he favours Martin. I do not think he will be so unwise as to favour those who are enemies unto the State. For if he do, her Majesty, I can tell him, will withdraw her gracious favour from him.'[2] Finally, a close connection between Essex and Martin is suggested by the well-known story which relates that, upon the occasion of the royal proclamation (13th February, 1589) against the printers and 'dispersers' of the tracts, the young earl in the Queen's presence pulled one of them out of his doublet, and, presenting it to her majesty enquired, 'What then is to become of me?'[3] And if we turn to Martin's tracts themselves we find him openly boasting of his power and reputation in high circles. 'I have been entertained at the court. . . . I hope these courtiers will one day see the cause tried between me and you,' he writes in 'The Epitome'; and in the same tract he twice speaks of himself as 'the Courtier Martin,' a phrase which he employs again in 'Hay any worke.'[4] In one place, indeed, he even goes so far as to declare that the bishops are afraid of him. From Cooper's 'Admonition,' one of the replies to the tracts, Martin quotes the sentence, 'Let the libeller and his do what they dare,' upon which he

[1] Pierce, 'Tracts,' p. 69. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 357.
[3] Maskell, 'Martin Marprelate,' pp. 123-4.
[4] Pierce, 'Tracts,' pp. 118, 120, 171, 264.

comments, 'Here I pray thee mark how I have made the bishops to pull in their horns. For whereas in this place they had printed the word *dare*, they bethought themselves, that they had to deal with my Worship, which am favoured at Court, and being afraid of me, they pasted the word *can* upon the word *dare*.'[1] That this was no idle boast the modern reader may see for himself by an examination of the first edition of Cooper's pamphlet. Again, there are many indications in the tract that Martin had a house in London, and was himself a member of the Court. He warns Whitgift that he is nearer him than he is aware of.[2] He declares that he knows the archbishop, though he knows no great good of him.[3] He always speaks of the bishops as if he had observed their personal habits, and knew the court scandals against them. He refers in the 'theses' to a sermon of Bancroft's preached 28th January, 1583, at Paul's Cross, which he must have heard himself, for it was apparently never printed. His tracts are full of references to London people and scenes, more especially river scenes, which is interesting in the light of the fact that Sir Roger Williams had a house on St. Paul's Wharf.[4]

Sir Roger Williams was a Welshman, and a native of Monmouthshire. His birthplace, Penrhôs, lay near Caerleon, and was therefore not far distant from Cefn Brith, Brecknockshire, where John Penry was born in 1559. Even if the young Welsh reformer had no previous acquaintance

[1] Pierce, 'Tracts,' pp. 269-70. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 220. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[4] Dict. Nat. Biog.: Roger Williams.

with his famous compatriot, Sir Roger Williams, the most prominent Welshman in London and the intimate friend of Essex, who was the leader of the Puritan party at court, would be the first man to whom Penry would naturally turn to for help. It is almost inconceivable that the two Welshmen could have remained personally unacquainted. On the other hand, internal evidence is all in favour of attributing the first three Marprelate tracts to a Monmouthshire man. The quaint and for the most part incomprehensible rigmarole which precedes the signature to 'The Epistle' begins, 'Given at my castle between two Wales . . .,' which is a clear reference to Monmouth, the county that lies on the borders of Devon and Wales proper. Throckmorton, moreover, in his 'M. Some laid open,' after indulging in some fooling in Martin's style, breaks off with, 'But I will not blot any more paper with such ware as this; there is enough of it to be had in the West Country if a man could light upon it'[1]: a passage which I take to be an indication that Martin came from the west of England. That Martin, was not an Englishman is, to me at least, proved by his contemptuous treatment of the jingoistic utterances of Aylmer's 'Harborowe,' where, as he puts it, 'you shall see the Englishman preferred before other people, only because he feedeth upon . . . plenty of sheep, oxen, kie . . . whereas other nations feed upon roots, raw herbs, oil and grapes.'[2] The whole passage calls to mind Fluellen and his

[1] 'M. Some laid open,' p. 69.
[2] Pierce, 'Tracts,' pp. 153-4.

leek. Aylmer also rouses Martin's ire for his attacks upon the French king and the 'foolish Germans.' A Welshman would resent Aylmer's declaration that 'God is English.'[1] A soldier of fortune like Williams, who had fought with or against most of the nationalities of Europe, would heartily despise the narrow insularism of such utterances. But one of the chief indications of Martin's place of origin is the dialect of the tracts. Terms like 'Ise' (I shall), 'chauve' (I have), 'iss' (yes), 'ti' (thy), 'tee' (thee), are frequent. Sometimes one comes across whole sentences in dialect, such as 'thou hast a right seasoned wainscote face of ti nowne, chwarnt tee, ti vorehead zaze hard as horne.'[2] All this is West English, very much as it is still spoken in Monmouth and Somerset to-day. Mr. Pierce describes it as 'conventional,' and contends that Martin took it from such books as 'Gammer Gurton's Needle.'[3] To my mind, Martin's use of it is too frequent and assured for it to have been a mere literary trick, and I prefer to think that he borrowed it from the peasants of his native district. Among a number of curious expressions in the first three tracts occurs the word 'umbertie,' which, as Mr. Pierce himself points out, is allied to the Welsh word 'umberth' (a multitude). Finally, Martin constantly fails, intentionally or involuntarily, to distinguish in his orthography between the consonants 'f' and 'v,' which again points to the Welshman, who would naturally pronounce an English 'f' as

[1] 'Harborowe,' 1559, sig. P. 4. v.
[2] 'Tracts,' p. 272.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 257 note.

'v'[1]; and it is interesting to notice that Martin Junior and Senior, though otherwise avoiding dialectal forms, nearly always refer to Martin Marprelate as their 'Vather,' as if it were a term of endearment. This is only to touch the fringe of of an important theme. The dialect of Martin, and indeed of Elizabethan literature generally, is a subject that badly needs investigation.

Of Sir Roger Williams' Puritan sympathies there can be no doubt. His intimacy with Essex, his hatred of Spain, the long campaigns in the Netherlands, where he would come across not only the Dutch Calvinists, but also the most extreme of the English reformers who took refuge at Middleburgh and other places, all indicate the probability of a pronounced Puritan bias. But the Puritanism of such a man, a dweller in camps, a lover of the good things of life (he died of a surfeit),[2] would scarcely be of the same complexion as that of Cartwright and the preachers. Now Martin, though hating the bishops with the best of them, was very far from being a precisian. His frequent references to card-playing show that he was thoroughly conversant with the various games of the day. The Bishop of Chester, he tells us, is a great card-player, yet he upbraids him, not for that, but because he makes 'trade thereof.' Indeed, he admits that 'in winter it is no great matter to take a little sport, for an odd cast, braces of twenty nobles, when the weather is foul that men cannot

[1] In Welsh the letter f represents the consonantal v sound, while the f sound is written ff or ph.

[2] Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

go abroad to bowls or to shoot. What, would you have men take no recreation?'[1] No rigid Puritan would have penned this striking passage, which condones not merely card-playing for money, but bowls and other recreations which were hardly less obnoxious in Puritan eyes. Moreover, the mention of such sports, and the light reference to heavy stakes like 'braces of twenty nobles,' stamps the sentence as the utterance of a man of means and a courtier. Martin indeed has evidently very little respect for the ordinary Puritans, 'our precise brethren,'[2] as he calls them, with a slight curl of the lip. He realises to the full their lack of humour ('I am sure their noses can abide no jest'[3]), for he himself suffers by it. 'The Puritans are angry with me, I mean the Puritan preachers. And why? Because I am too open, because I jest'; and again, 'I am favoured of all estates, the Puritans only excepted.'[4] This is the burden of all his tracts. In places he seems to hint that the Puritans are intriguing against him. 'This is the Puritans' craft in procuring me to be confuted, I know. I'll be even with them too.'[5] 'I know I am disliked . . . . of many which you call Puritans. It is their weakness I am threatened to be hanged by you.'[6] But the most remarkable passage of all is that in which he threatens Cartwright himself, the leader of the Puritan movement. Cooper's 'Admonition' appeared with the letters T. C. upon the title-page, and Martin is evidently not quite sure whom these letters signify. He takes them,

[1] 'Tracts,', p. 218. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 123. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 118. [5] p. 215. [6] p. 245.

and rightly, to stand for Thomas Cooper, but they might — uncomfortable thought! — equally well refer to Thomas Cartwright. Martin is determined to face even that eventuality, 'Thomas Cartwright, shall I say that thou madest this book against me, because T. C. is set to it? Well, take heed of it! If I find it to be thy doing, I will besoop thee, as thou never bangedst John Whitgift in thy life.' [1] This contempt for the precisian, and freedom from his narrow prejudices, this suspicion that the preachers are not acting honestly by him, this ignorance of their spirit and tendencies which allows him to think for one moment that Cartwright could have penned Cooper's 'Admonition,' and finally this bold threat to treat the chief Puritan minister of the land in the same manner as he had treated the bishops, are proofs that Martin, earnest man and sound anti-episcopalian as he was, could have been no ordinary Puritan— that, on the contrary, he stood outside the Puritan camp, firing his lonely gun at the foe, but careless or contemptuous what his allies thought of him.

Sir Roger Williams was not only a brave soldier, but also a man of considerable learning and wide reading. Indeed, his quaint pedantry was almost as attractive to his admirers as his courage. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford.[2] Martin, too, it seems, was an Oxford man,[3] who had a special grudge against one Dr. Prime, a Fellow of New College, to whom he gives the curious nickname 'Wynkyn

[1] 'Tracts,' p. 266. [2] Dict. Nat. Biog., *op. cit.*

[3] This is proved by his constant reference to Oxford teachers and Oxford text books; *cf.* 'Tracts,' pp. 34, 267, 282.

de Worde.' Among his 'unperfite papers' was a Latin satire upon this man,[1] and there are many other indications that Martin was a good Latin scholar. His knowledge of history, especially of Roman history,[2] is extensive, and his boast, 'I have read something in my days,'[3] is no idle one. Nor has he neglected the literature of England. He refers to the 'Wife of Bath,' and he mentions 'Gammer Gurton's Needle' no less than three times.[4] At the same time, his theological attainments, though quite adequate to his purpose, are nothing remarkable in an age when everyone was his own theologian as he was his own lawyer. As a soldier Sir Roger's main interest was naturally military tactics, and he has left us two books on this subject: 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries,' first published in 1618, dealing with his campaigns in the Netherlands, which is described by Motley as 'one of the most valuable and attractive histories of the age'; and 'A briefe discourse of Warre,' 1590, which is chiefly concerned with military discipline and tactical theory. The relation between the style of these treatises and that of Martin will be considered later; it is sufficient here to notice that with Sir Roger Williams the pen was almost as mighty as the sword. 'A briefe Discourse,' moreover, contains a clue which, taken in conjunction with those already brought forward, is of great importance. It will be recollected that Martin's papers had arrived in England at the beginning of July, 1589, in an imperfect condition, and that the

[1] 'Tracts,' p. 363. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 249. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 33, 140, 167.

writer of the epistle to 'More worke' had complained of the misery of sea-journeys and the loss of his papers. The said loss cannot refer to the seizure of the manuscript with the printers in August, because it was spoken of in the manuscript which was itself seized—*i.e.*, the epistle to 'More worke.' In the light of this, it is extraordinarily interesting to find Sir Roger Williams telling Essex, in the dedication of his book published 1590 (the very next year), that he had busied himself for more than two years 'in writing sundrie actions that passed in our daies,' which he would have published had he not 'unfortunately lost part of his papers through the negligence of a servant.' By itself, the point might be dismissed as a mere coincidence. But in an argument like the present, which rests entirely upon circumstantial evidence, once a certain number of coincidences have been adduced, every fresh one becomes a strong link in the chain of proof. Martin's papers had been carelessly handled, as we have seen, for they were drenched with sea-water. It appears now that their 'unperfite' condition was also due to the 'negligence' of the servant into whose hands they were entrusted, together with the rest of Sir Roger Williams' manuscripts.

IV.

It remains to round off this side of the argument with a few remarks upon Williams' personality. He is one of the great 'characters' of Elizabethan England. Every historian who has come across him lingers lovingly over his eccentricities. Motley

calls him 'the mad Welshman,' and again, 'that doughty Welshman . . . truculent and caustic, ready with sword and pen, foremost in every mad adventure or every forlorn hope'; he speaks of his 'experienced eye and keen biting humour,' of his sharp sensible tongue, and his frank open heart; he pictures him with 'his shrewd Welsh head under his iron morion, and a stout Welsh heart under his tawny doublet.' Mr. Corbett, the greatest authority on Elizabethan seamanship, describes Williams as 'one of the most distinguished soldiers of his time,' and again as 'the renowned Welsh captain with his professional pedantry, his quaint and forcible turns of speech, his vanity and cool valour.' Sir Sidney Lee, in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' mentions his choleric temper and bluntness of speech, his conspicuous valour and daring, and in reference to the wars in France under Navarre, speaks of him as 'prominent in many skirmishes, squabbling as of old with his commanders, challenging the enemy to single combat, and writing to the Queen, with almost insolent frankness, of the niggardly support she was affording to the foreign allies.' Martin Hume also writes to much the same effect. But the figure of the man stands out clearest of all in the old story told of him and printed in the Camden Society's 'Anecdotes and Traditions.'[1] It runs as follows: 'Sir Roger Williams (who was a Welchman, and but a taylour at the first, though afterwards a very brave souldier) being gracious with Queen Elizabeth, prefer'd a suite to her, which she

[1] p. 47, 1839, ed. W. J. Thoms.

thought not fitt to grant; but he, impasient of a repulse, resolv'd to give another assault; so coming one day to court, makes his address to the Queene, and watching his time, when she was free and pleasaunt, beganne to move againe; she perceived it at the instant, and observing a new payre of boots on his leggs, clapps her hand to her nose and cryes, "Fah, Williams, I prythee, begone, thy bootes stinke." "Tut, Tut, madame," sayes he, "'tis my sute that stinkes."'

A little picture like this of the Elizabethan Court is worth volumes of history. Small wonder, indeed, that the Marprelate business was hushed up if Williams, who could address the Queen in such familiar terms, was the author of the tracts. But this man lives, as he deserves, in other pages than those of history. All the historians have noticed his resemblance to that 'marvellous Welshman,' Fluellen. It would be strange if they had not. Fluellen's choler, his bluntness, his ready wit, his vanity, his pedantry, his sturdy love of his native land, his cool and dashing bravery, his contempt for everyone's opinion but his own upon the subject of 'the disciplines of wars,' are all Williams' characteristics. When Fluellen tells Henry V., 'I am your majesty's countryman, I care not who knows it; I will confess it to all the 'orld; I need not to be ashamed of your majesty, praised be God, so long as your majesty is an honest man,' we hear the voice of the Monmouthshire knight addressing his liege lady Elizabeth Tudor. When Pistol reminds Fluellen that the Duke of Exeter loves him well, and Fluellen replies,

'Ay, I praise God; and I have merited some love at his hands,' we at once think of the intimacy between Williams and Essex. The parallel, in short, is far too close to have been accidental. Shakspeare knew Southampton, and probably his friend Essex; and even if he never met Sir Roger he must, like everyone else in London, have heard stories of the extraordinary Welsh knight. Moreover, when he set out in 1599 to write his great epic drama of England in arms, could he have chosen a more appropriate figure to strut upon the front of his stage than one who was at once the bravest and most popular of Elizabeth's officers and the most eccentric of Elizabeth's courtiers? Shakespeare never invented when the stuff lay ready to his hand. His age had produced a magnificent fighting man who was also a great comic figure. He put him, just as he was, into his play, and the world has marvelled ever since at the finest comic soldier in all literature. The choleric knight himself, it should be noted, could take no umbrage at the dramatist's action, for he had been in his grave some four years when 'Henry V.' was first played within the 'wooden O' of the Globe Theatre.

The personality of Fluellen-Williams is exactly that which one might have expected the author of the Marprelate tracts to possess. Whimsical and blunt; intensely serious, yet boisterous and vivacious; impatient of the slightest contradiction; ready to pick a quarrel with any man who irritates him, even if he be of his own party; overflowing with originality, with wit, with arrogance and

with personal vanity; and yet at the same time all the more attractive, even lovable, for the very foibles of his character—such is the Martin we find in the tracts, as those who know them well can testify. They can testify also to the presence, behind this eccentric exterior, of a man of lofty purpose, of absolute fearlessness, of more than usual energy. Monmouth did not and could not produce three such men to add to the gaiety of Elizabethan England. Martin, Williams, and Fluellen are one man, and I venture to assert that the compound makes one of the most astonishing personalities of that astonishing period. Shakespeare was not the only poet who looked with admiration upon the Welshman. Williams' compatriot, John Davies of Hereford, has celebrated him by name in his 'Microcosmos,' 1603, and we cannot do better than close this estimate of his character with two quotations from this poem:

Now from the Court, descend we to the campe,
And from those elder times, to these of ours:
There find we (no less currant for the stampe)
Williams (world's wonder for his native powers)
Out daring Death in many sanguine shoures:
The singing Bullets made his soule rejoice
As Musicke that the hearing most alures,
And if the cannons bas'd it with their voice,
He seem'd as ravisht with a Heav'nly noise.
And when the Fomens muskets spight did spitt
Then would he spitt in sport at them the while:
The Blowes his courage gave were plac'd by witt,
For Witt and Courage dwelt still in his stile:
While Cowardice and Folly made them vile

Whose glory lay all in their Ladies' lappe,
And when he came to Court, at them would smile,
Yea, smoothlie jest at their soft-silken Happe,
Yet could, like Mars, take there sometimes a napp.
. . . . . .
Should I recount the pettie Miracles
By him performéd, in his marshall course,
My words would scarse be held for Oracles:
Suffizeth me the World (that knew his force)
Well knew his Hart was Witt and Valour's source,
And they that most envy our Brittish Fame
Must needs thus much of him confesse (perforce)
That whatsoever from this Brittaine came
Was Witt and spright, or favor'd of the same.

'Wit and courage dwelt still in his style,' 'His heart was wit and valour's source,' 'That whatsoever from this Briton came was wit or sprite': what more appropriate phrases could be found for the Welsh soldier-pedant who wrote the Marprelate tracts?

V.

The reader who has followed the argument of the previous article will, I think, be prepared to admit that, though absolute proof is at present impossible, the series of remarkable coincidences there noted form a very strong chain of circumstantial evidence in favour of identifying Martin Marprelate with Sir Roger Williams. We started, it will be remembered, from the broken sentences of Martin's theses, and clambering up through the loophole they provided, we found ourselves on a path leading to strange and unexpected places. It took us to the walls of Lisbon with Drake and Norris, to the camp of Henry of

Navarre, to the court of the great Queen, to the auditorium of the Globe Theatre, to the brain of Shakespeare himself. It was, in fact, no by-path, but the very highway of Elizabethan life and action. Let us now retrace our steps, descend again into the dim underworld of Martinist conspiracy, and, bearing the new theory like a lamp in our hands, see if we cannot throw light into corners which before seemed impenetrably dark. For there is still much to clear up in this business. The story of the Marprelate publications has hitherto been told in ignorance of Martin's identity; we have now to show that our theory not only fits all the facts as we know them, but brings out the significance of many obscure points. Again, the seven tracts have up to the present been attributed to one author; we are now in a position to prove that three writers were involved, to discover who they were and to indicate the exact tracts or portions of tracts which each contributed. In a word, once Martin Marprelate himself has been run to earth, his accomplices can be arrested and the whole plot exposed.

It will be convenient to begin this second stage of our enquiry with an examination of the style of the tracts. 'The Protestation,' which is the last of all, may be reserved for later consideration, since it has its own features and problems; but a study of 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke,' published it will be recollected between October 1588, and the end of March 1589, and of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior,' published in July 1589, will yield us results confirming the

clues we already have in hand, and furnishing us with new clues to go on with. According to our theory, the earlier group were written by Sir Roger Williams, and the later by two other men who called themselves his 'sons.' We have first to ask ourselves how far the style of 'The Epistle' and its fellows resembles that of Williams' acknowledged writings.

It is obvious that we are here dealing with a problem of no ordinary difficulty. 'Martin,' whoever he was, deliberately affected an antic disposition: 'Perceiving the humours of men in these times to be given to mirth, I took that course.' He strews his tracts, as we have seen, with dialect forms; he invents or adopts a comic vocabulary of his own—e.g., besire (desire), bethout (without), beceitful (deceitful), besoop, bumfeg, dunstical, etc.; he constantly breaks out into whoops and wild ejaculations, such as—py hy hy! tse, tse, tse! wo wo! and so on; he indulges in puns, swaggering parentheses, asides to the reader, and imaginary altercations with an objector or with the bishops themselves. In short, he has taken a leaf out of Tarleton's book, and formed his style on the model of a stage-clown's conversational patter. It would be idle to look for anything like this in serious treatises upon military affairs, such as Sir Roger Williams' 'Briefe Discourse of Warre' and 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries.' In the one case the writer wears cap and bells, in the other morion and buff jerkin; the themes are totally different, the public addressed is different. So far asunder, indeed, are the spheres of the comic theologian and the businesslike military

historian that we might, without detriment to our theory, give up the pursuit of clues in this direction as hopeless. Yet a little perseverance will not be thrown away if we fix our attention upon Martin's less obvious—because more ordinary—qualities of style and vocabulary. No one can read 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries' without being struck with the constant recurrence of phrases in which the word 'sort' appears; 'in such sort,' 'in this sort,' 'in like sort,' etc., occur on the average twice in every page. Martin frequently uses the same expression, though not so persistently. Another trick of Williams' is to begin a sentence with the words, 'True it is,' 'To say troth,' or the like. Martin is equally fond of the form, 'I tell thee true,' which is the same phrase put in the more personal way to suit his conversational style. Still more striking is the constant appeal of Williams and Martin to the reader, or the world in general, to decide upon a moot point, an appeal commencing in such phrases as 'judge you,' 'the world may judge,' etc. Both writers, too, show a partiality for the same words. 'Procure' in the sense of 'persuade' naturally strikes the modern reader's eye at once; 'choler,' 'peevish,' 'mar,' and 'belike' are other instances; and it should be observed that the writer of the tracts and the writer of 'A Briefe Discourse of Warre' often use a singular verb with a plural subject, as a Welshman naturally would.[1]

[1] 'The Actions' contain very few instances of this, no doubt because the treatise was revised by its seventeenth century editor, as he himself informs us.

It is of more importance to our argument to notice that the two styles agree in fundamentals as well as in mannerisms of word and expression; that is to say, the sentence-structure of Martin and Williams is identical. Take a passage when Martin is in his most serious vein, when he has put off the comic mask and reveals his own features: 'I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter. I am called Martin Marprelate. There be many that greatly dislike my doings. I may have my wants I know. For I am a man. But my course I know to be ordinary and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government and of the Bishops' antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the one and against the other.'[1] And so he goes on, firing off his short sharp sentences like pistol shots, with very few conjunctions and no subordinate clauses. Now take a passage from 'The Action of the Lowe Countries': 'Divers had leave to dismount themselves who accompanied Julian at the point. The count re-entrenched himself overthwart the breach with a half moon. Himself and some two hundred horsemen stood at the mouth of the great lane towards the breach. The rest of his horsemen were in three troops making patrols (rounds we call it) from place to place round about the town. As one troop came unto him he sent another out. Monsieur de la Noue stood with the armed men in the midst of the half moon. Monsieur de Poyet stood on the one quarter of the moon, with half

[1] Pierce. 'Tracts,' p. 238.

the shoot. Monsieur de Roueres on the other with the rest. At every corner of the moon they placed divers pieces of ordnance, laden with nails, small bullets, and stones, which flanked the mouth of the breach. Julian's captains would not give place one to another more than the colonels, but by lot.'[1] This is no picked passage; it is thoroughly representative of Williams' 'blunt manly style,' as Sir Walter Scott aptly describes it,[2] a style which is unusual in the sixteenth century, when writers delighted in long, involved and loosely constructed sentences. Had Williams' military treatises shown marked differences from the more serious portions of Martin's tracts, our theory would doubtless be open to grave objection. As it is, we are content to 'let the indifferent reader judge' in the light of the foregoing extracts, so different in theme, so similar in form, whether there is anything inherently improbable in supposing that the author of 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries' was also the author of the first three Marprelate tracts.

We have next to consider the style of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior.' It is clear, as we should have expected, that neither is by the same hand which penned 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke.' With the significant exception of 'Vather,' already referred to, they contain no dialect forms; they have a comic vocabulary of their own, such as nuncka, neame, flim-flam, dilling, etc., which is quite distinct from Martin's; their sentence-structure is different; the word 'procure' is used in its ordinary sense; and

[1] Somers. Tracts I., 349. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

though Martin Senior opens his tract with an ejaculation and is not above making a bad pun or two, neither he nor his 'younger brother' shows any resemblance to his 'father' in the other characteristics noticed above. Furthermore, it is equally clear that Martin Senior is, as he professes to be, a different writer from Martin Junior. The latter's tract is mostly taken up with Martin Marprelate's theses, but 'Martin Junior's Epilogue' is sufficiently long to give the reader a fair taste of the writer's style. There is, of course, some affectation of sprightliness at the outset to suit the occasion; but Martin Junior soon launches out into a serious denunciation of the bishops; and no one, I am convinced, who has read much of Penry's acknowledged work can escape the strong suspicion that this denunciation is from his pen. Expressions of which Penry is particularly fond, such as 'plant,' 'questionless,' 'stand to,' 'deal with,' and 'maintain,' are all used by Martin Junior, the last mentioned being especially frequent. Penry's style again is biblical and rhetorical; he piles substantive upon substantive, adjective upon adjective, clause upon clause, question upon question. Martin Junior does the same. Finally, in the case of each writer, the sentences tend to be long and complex, and there is a constant employment of parentheses within brackets. Taken in conjunction with the external evidence which we shall produce later, the testimony of these stylistic similarities becomes unimpeachable.

The style of Martin Senior creates an even stronger suspicion in favour of Job Throckmorton.

No one could suppose for one moment that Penry was responsible for this tract. The author of 'The Aequity,' 'The Exhortation,' 'Th' Appellation,' and other pamphlets pleading for the cause of religion in Wales, was an intensely serious young man, fervent, passionate, and at times bitter, but one who would move awkwardly in motley, as Martin Junior obviously does. The author of 'Martin Senior,' on the other hand, is a born comedian. Yet his humour is of a different order from that of Martin Marprelate. The latter is boisterous and vociferous; he belabours the bishops with a crabtree cudgel, he writes at the top of his voice, as it were. Martin Senior's method is the knowing wink, the sly dig in the ribs, the quiet chuckle. He is Martin Marprelate's zany, but he altogether excels his master in comic imagination, and his tract is undoubtedly the wittiest of the series. He possesses a dramatic power which his 'Vather' lacks. He can call up comic pictures of his opponents; indeed, he never seems to think of a bishop or dean without imagining him in some absurd posture or other. Moreover, he brings his lay figures upon the stage and makes them talk. The tract plunges at once into a mock 'oration of John Canterbury to the pursuivants,' and concludes with a second by 'that Beelzebub of London.' All this is what we should expect of Job Throckmorton. The only book signed by his name which we possess is the 'Defence of Job Throckmorton,' 1594, written in reply to Matthew Sutcliffe, who had accused him of being responsible for all the Marprelate tracts. But 'M. Some laid

open in his coulers,' one of the three tracts printed by Waldegrave at Rochelle in the summer of 1589, though anonymous, is undoubtedly by Throckmorton also. In the crushing rejoinder to the above-mentioned 'Defence,' Sutcliffe writes: 'the book called "Some in his coulers" was likewise made by J. Throckmorton. That is proved first by the deposition of Waldegrave that upon oath testified so much, and at Rochelle, where he printed it, spake it openly.'[1] We know of no occasion when Waldegrave was examined after the summer of 1589, unless Sutcliffe be referring to an interview between the printer and Bowes, the English ambassador, which took place at Edinburgh in 1590,[2] but there is no reason to believe that he would deliberately lie on a matter so susceptible of proof. Besides, his statement is supported by the evidence of style; and, though there is not space here to go into this question so minutely as I could wish, it is so important, especially in connection with the problem of 'The Protestation,' that a brief discussion of it is imperative.

One or two sentences from Throckmorton's 'Defence' should give the reader an idea of his style:—Sutcliffe 'very kindly, I thank him, sets his brand upon me in the margin in this manner: "A sanctified Puritan."' 'I am not able to discern why it (i.e. an expression of Sutcliffe's) should come in rustling here unless it be only for the bare noise and sound of it.' Sutcliffe's controversial

[1] Arber. 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 179.
[2] Scottish State Papers. Eliz., vol. lxv., No. 64. Record Office.

methods with puritans are 'to throw out the gauntlet and chartel of defiance with one hand and to shake the halter and show the hatchet with the other; or rather, in plain terms, to do what in him lieth to cut in sunder the windpipe first and then to ask them why they whoop not afterwards.' 'Sutcliffe's opprobrious speeches . . . were . . . but plain scab and scurvy Jack. In which vein of kitchen rhetoric, if they would give me leave also to follow the sway of the flesh and blood, methinks I could easily without any great sweat or pains (if there were no bounds of modesty to restrain me) learn to confute the honestest man and the greatest clerk in Christendom.' The reason why Throckmorton cannot follow 'the sway of flesh and blood' in his 'Defence' is that the book was addressed to an 'honourable lady,' and therefore he is enforced to keep his exuberant wit within 'the bounds of modesty.' But despite this, his 'kitchen rhetoric' will out, and the tract contains enough of it to prove the writer's extraordinary command of comic metaphor; a topic or person has but to cross his mind, and it is at once transformed into some concrete humorous image. Now 'M. Some in his coulers,' the author of which is under no sort of restraint, is a riot of comic metaphor and humorous vision. Take a handful of phrases and sentences from it, chosen at haphazard:—'To glut down a pretty prebend or two, to help their digestion'; 'I pray you what call you him that giveth in his coat "An ass with a tippet about his neck," and writes underneath "Come and see"?'; 'to choke him straight with a pill out of his own confectionery'; 'but first you

must give him leave to warm himself a little at the magistrate's fire, for it may be his hands are cold. And then (when he hath stirred the coals awhile for the better conjuring of his adversaries) you shall see him prove his antecedent.' He pictures 'some reverend bishop or other on his knees before her Majesty as one loth to speak, good man, but only that the heinousness of the case doth thereunto force him, as it were, against his will; and therefore he begins, I warrant you, with a sigh or two fetched from the very depth of his bowels, in this sort: "O, madame, you may see what your puritans are come to. . . ." Then there is Dr. Some too busy place-hunting to listen to argument: "Tush he is among the organs at Pauls or else looking out of his window towards Lambeth, what should he meddle with the thing in question?"' Lastly, we may give a selection from the expressions this astonishing writer uses as attributes to the single word 'argument':— 'sound and musket-proof,' 'wind-shaken,' 'paper-shot,' 'having a lame leg,' 'such as, if you look not to it, will go near to clatter the glass window in pieces,' 'a lame jade,' 'curtails and hackneys of Sarum,' 'a gilded coat armour.' I know no other piece of Elizabethan prose, not even in the works of Nashe, in which the comic imagination is more fertile in play, more varied in resource, than 'M. Some laid open.' Martin Marprelate's 'sport among the catercaps' is of a rougher, more hustling, cruder nature. But Throckmorton's 'Defence' and 'Martin Senior' are written in precisely the same vein as 'M. Some.' There are, moreover,

certain peculiar words and mannerisms which link these three pamphlets together. The chief of these is the frequent use of the verb 'muse' in the sense of 'marvel,' while two other unusual forms, 'appeach' (impeach) and 'putcase' (suppose), may be noticed in passing, though they do not, like 'muse,' appear in 'Martin Senior.' Then again one of Throckmorton's characteristic parentheses is the chuckling 'I thank you,' addressed to an adversary who has made an absurd statement or an ill-advised attack. This is found in 'A Defence' and 'Martin Senior,' while the word 'brand,' (e.g., 'set a brand upon,' 'unbranded,' etc.), which is a very favourite one of Throckmorton's, occurs in all three tracts.

Here for the present we must leave the argument from style. The significance of many of the foregoing points will be clearer as we proceed, but we now have sufficient clues in our hands to attempt with confidence a reconstruction of the story of the Marprelate tracts. We know, almost for certain, who Martin Marprelate himself was, and we have very strong suspicions as to the identity of Martin Senior and Martin Junior. Let us see how our theories and suspicions fit into the framework of established fact.

VI

Sir Roger Williams had every opportunity of learning the plans and hopes of the Puritan party before he left the Netherlands at the fall of Sluys in 1587. Both Leicester and Essex, as we saw,

must have been aware of what was going on. Middleburgh, too, the head-quarters of the English army, was at this time swarming with extremists from home; it possessed two English churches, one founded by Cartwright and the other by Robert Browne; and its only printer, Richard Schilders, who during Leicester's governor-generalship styled himself 'printer to his Excellencie,' was a man who had lived many years in London, and was now busy smuggling into London the tracts of the anti-episcopalians.[1] An acquaintance between Williams and Schilders, extremely probable in any case, would help to explain the part played by the Dutchman in connection with certain tracts on the fringe of the Marprelate controversy,[1] and also the curious reference to him by name in 'The Epitome.'[2] And when the Welsh knight arrived in England at the beginning of July, 1587, he would find a Puritan conspiracy in full preparation. John Field and others were collecting notes about the scandalous or seeming-scandalous lives of the bishops; John Penry, a young compatriot of his own, just hot from Cambridge, was ready to bombard parliament and the privy council with pamphlets exposing the shameful spiritual neglect of his native country, Wales. 'There is a certain waste of people,' writes Nashe in one of his graver moments, 'for whom there is no use but war: and these men must have some employment still to cut them off. *Nam si foras hostem non habent,*

[1] Trans. Bib. Soc., xi., pp. 65-89 'Richard Schilders and the English Puritans.'

[2] Pierce. Tracts, p. 119.

domi invenient. If they have no service abroad, they will make mutinies at home.'[1] Williams was exactly this type of person. Since 1572 he had been engaged in almost constant warfare in the Low Countries; Spain was now threatening England herself, and he had come home to take part in the defence; but this defence meant two years of comparative inactivity, and inactivity had become an impossibility for him. 'Ready with sword or pen, foremost in every mad adventure or every forlorn hope,' as Motley describes him, he would be the first man, unemployed as he was, to throw himself vigorously into the Puritan schemes. Towards the end of 1587, Penry tells us in his 'Exhortation,' a book 'pleading the cause of Sion,' was printed in South Wales,[2] in the production of which Williams may possibly have had a hand. We have no evidence, however, that 'Martin' began to think of contributing with his pen before 1588. Field died in February, and copies of his notes came into the possession of both Martin and Penry, who, as it seems independently of each other, began to work them up into pamphlet form. Certainly the third part of 'The Exhortation,' which was printed a little after 6th May, and contains matter almost identical with some of that employed in 'The Epistle' and 'The Epitome,' was mysteriously suppressed by its author; and the only explanation which suggests itself is that Penry had in the meantime seen part of the manuscripts of

[1] 'Pierce Penilesse.' McKerrow's Nashe I., 211.
[2] 'The Library.' New Series. X., 234.

the first two Marprelate tracts, or at least had heard that 'Martin' was using Field's notes.

But if 'The Epistle' and 'The Epitome' were in preparation as early as May, why were they not published till the autumn of 1588? One answer is that Williams was busy with other matters. The Armada began to sail up the Channel, and he had to be in constant attendance upon Leicester, though his absences without leave look as though he found time to go on with his Marprelate work. In any case Waldegrave, we are told, had had 'The Epistle' 'a good while to print' before he took it in hand; and we must suppose that the delay was partly caused by the necessity of procuring a larger press and new type from abroad. Williams was well off, and had, no doubt, lordly ideas as to the appearance of his 'metropolitical writings.' All things considered, therefore, it was natural that the printer should be settled at East Molesey about Michaelmas with a new press and a fine selection of black letter founts; for by that time Philip's ships had gone to their destruction, Williams himself was free, and the sea between England and Middleburgh had for many weeks been open again, if it was from Middleburgh, as I suspect, that Waldegrave procured his type and press.[1] 'The Epistle' was published just after Williams went to the Netherlands with Norris,

[1] The proof that Waldegrave secured a new press in the late summer of 1588 cannot be gone into fully in this place. It rests chiefly on the fact that all the tracts printed by Waldegrave in 1588 before September are in half sheets, and all those (8vo or 4to) printed between September and March in the next year are in whole sheets.

so that probably he was able to see an advanced copy before starting. On 10th November he is once more back in England, in time to write the brief preparatory epistle to 'The Epitome,' which appeared some three weeks later from Fawsley. 'Martin' wrote nothing in December, 1588, as far as we know, unless some of his 'unperfite' tracts, his Latin treatises, or his verses against Dr. Prime, of which Martin Junior and Senior speak, were written at this time. The point is worth noting, because it is possible that Williams was with Norris in the Netherlands again in December. The following January, however, preparations for the expedition to Portugal had begun, and the presence of both Norris and Williams was required in England. At the same time Cooper's 'Admonition' gave 'Martin' new material to work upon, and instead of attending to his military duties down in Plymouth, Williams remained in London writing, we must suppose, 'Hay any worke for Cooper,' and its sequel 'More Worke for the Cooper.' That the latter tract was, at least in part, written in the spring of 1589, there can be no reasonable doubt. 'Hay any worke' is full of references to it as immediately forthcoming, and from Penry's words to Sharpe at the beginning of May, it is evident that the Martinists supposed Waldegrave to be printing it 'in some corner in Devonshire.'[1] 'Hay any worke' was finished by Waldegrave on 23rd March, but previously there had appeared the broadside known as 'The Minerals.' This has hitherto been classed as one

[1] Arber, 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 100.

of the Marprelate series; yet the name or title of Martin Marprelate is nowhere mentioned in it. The references to Bishop Cooper as 'profane T. C.' and the 'tub-trimmer,' prove that Martin himself, or someone who had seen the manuscript of 'Hay any worke,' had a hand in it; but there is no reason for supposing that the tract was more than a compilation, while the occurrence of 'appeaching,'[1] and the characteristic 'I thank him,' in 'school-points' 9 and 15, make it more than likely that Job Throckmorton was in part responsible for it.

Soon after the appearance of 'Hay any worke,' as I am persuaded, the authorities made some discovery which either fixed the authorship upon Williams or laid him under very grave suspicion. No other theory, as we saw, will adequately explain the headlong flight from London on 3rd April and Elizabeth's subsequent displeasure with the Welshman. Why, too, should Waldegrave suddenly leave England at this juncture? In accordance with the policy of perambulation pursued by the Martinist publishing house, he had moved from Coventry to Devonshire at the end of March, taking with him the manuscript of Penry's 'Appellation,' the Marprelate black letter, and probably the larger of the two presses. As late as 1st May Penry apparently supposed that he was at work in 'some corner' of Devonshire, and it was not until about 18th May that he learnt that Waldegrave had given them all the slip. Evidently

[1] In the first three Marprelate quartos 'impeaching' occurs more than once, but never 'appeaching.'

the flight to Rochelle was entirely unpremeditated, and we are not surprised to learn that Hodgkins later speaks bitterly of his predecessor's desertion of the cause. Devonshire had in the first place, I conjecture, been selected as Waldegrave's destination because Williams was expected in that part of the world, and would wish before sailing to give the printer his final instructions, together perhaps with the manuscript of 'More Worke.' But consider the position of affairs if Williams believed the whole plot to be discovered. He and Essex fling themselves upon the 'Swiftsure' and secretly put in at Falmouth. Here takes place an interview with Waldegrave, a constitutionally timid man, and already weary of the Marprelate business. He learns of the discovery and the consequent danger to himself, and the upshot is that the 'Swiftsure' conveys him to Rochelle, the Protestant city of refuge.

Contrary winds kept Williams for some ten days in Falmouth harbour, and it is possible that the same cause detained him for a week or so at Rochelle, since, it will be remembered, a month elapsed between the sailing of the main fleet and his coming up with it. During these idle weeks I believe he continued his Marprelate writings. Possibly he now put the finishing touches to 'More Worke'; almost certainly he began to draw up the 'theses' which afterwards appeared in 'Martin Junior.' The reader who turns from 'Hay any worke' to these theses will find a striking change of attitude in the author. In the former, Martin is as confident and boisterous as ever; in

the latter, as Martin Junior notes with sorrow, 'the old man is something discouraged in his courses.'[1] The preface, or 'speech,' which precedes the theses, without doubt displays considerable despondency of tone. 'The bishops I fear,' writes Martin, 'are past my cure, and it may be I was unwise in taking that charge upon me. The best is, I know how to mend myself. For good leave have I to give over my desperate cure: and with this farewell unto them, I wish them a better surgeon.'[2] Such is the mood of Martin Marprelate when he pens this tract. The note he strikes is one of compromise, of despair, of 'farewell to book making,' almost of penitence. Moreover, he never finished the tract; for the 'loss of his papers' will not account for the broken sentences in the body of the text, though it might explain the abrupt conclusion. What is the reason of all this? Again our theory steps in as the only one which fits the facts. Williams was cast down at his discovery. He had begun to realise that bishop-baiting was a more hazardous game than he had supposed. He sets to work in a chastened spirit to write a tract 'without inveighing against either person or cause.' And then the wind changes, and he has to throw the thing aside; or, finding the old habit of thwacking 'corner-caps' getting the better of him as he proceeds, he gives up the task in disgust. In any case, I am convinced it was his last contribution to the Marprelate controversy.

[1] 'Tracts,' p. 303.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

Waldegrave began to print soon after he reached Rochelle. It is a little surprising to find that he did not take in hand 'More Worke.' The explanation probably is that 'Martin' himself had not yet completed this tract, that in fact 'More Worke' was 'unperfite' like the rest of his papers which reached England in July. As, however, the pamphlet was captured with the printers, we have no means of arriving at any certainty on this point. The three tracts which Waldegrave did print at Rochelle were Penry's 'Appellation,' Throckmorton's 'M. Some laid open in his coulers,' and a booke called 'A Dialogue wherein is laid open the tyranicall dealing of L.Bishopps.' Of the last I wish to say nothing here, as I have had no recent opportunity of reading it. More than common interest, however, is attached to the publication of 'M. Some'; for it was issued without Throckmorton's knowledge and under the editorship of another person. The title-page bears the inscription 'Done by an Oxford man to his friend in Cambridge,' and the preface 'to the reader' begins as follows:—'Having this lying by me, without any purpose to publish it as yet, I was advertized of the taking away of M. Penry's book by the pursuivant. Whereupon I resolved (though it should be some offence to my friend) not to closet it up any longer lest the adversary should too much triumph and insult. Even as it came into my hands, so have I given it his passport, without any addition or alteration of mine. Only the title, I confess, is mine own, the rest is my Oxford's friend's.' The editor is as good as his word, he

has neither added nor altered, but he has certainly subtracted. The tract commences in the most abrupt manner possible: 'Be it so, sithence you will needs have it so, provided that you be not overhasty to communicate it, for that may breed danger to me and no great good to yourself'; after which cryptic utterance the writer passes on to deal with M. Some, a theme which occupies him for some 125 closely-printed octavo pages. Throckmorton, 'the Oxford man,' has evidently written a long letter on the subject of M. Some's iniquities and stupidities to 'his friend in Cambridge,' prefaced by some remarks of a personal nature, which, to judge from the above quoted fragment, would no doubt have been very interesting not merely to us, but to the Elizabethan government. The letter was written between the 10th and the 29th of January, 1589, since it mentions Cooper's 'Admonition,' which appeared soon after the former date, and since it was on 29th January that the pursuivants raided Penry's house at Northampton and took away the manuscript of his book against M. Some, to which the editor refers in his preface. Who the Cambridge man may be it would be idle to conjecture. He is not Penry, because the whole tract is written about Penry, who is always spoken of in the third person. He cannot be 'Martin,' because Martin is referred to in the same fashion. Nor is he, I think, the editor himself, whose preface has a distant and speculative note which we should not expect from the friend to whom the letter was addressed. From the opening sentence of the

tract it seems that Throckmorton was reluctantly granting 'his friend' permission to 'communicate' the letter to some third person. This person, we cannot doubt, was the editor who wrote the preface, and who did his work so carelessly that, while no doubt cancelling the first page of the manuscript, he allowed the last sentence of Throckmorton's private warning to his friend to get into print. And this editor? Surely none other than Martin himself. The expression 'laid open in his coulers,' and the use of 'insult' for 'exult,' as Mr. Pierce has pointed out,[1] occur more than once in the first three tracts and the theses, while the word 'advertize' (inform) is a very favourite one with Sir Roger Williams. Throckmorton was able to swear that he 'knew not Martin,' but the two men certainly knew *of* each other, and had probably some indirect correspondence. Martin Marprelate speaks in 'The Epitome' of 'my son Martin Senior that worthy wight,'[2] and Martin Senior himself, while professing that his father's 'eldest child never knew him,' plumes himself on the honourable mention 'that my father made of me in his writings.'[3] It is probable that one of their channels of communication was the unknown Cambridge man.[4]

Meanwhile the sudden departure of Williams

[1] 'Historical Introduction,' pp. 294, 295.

[2] 'Tracts,' p. 159.

[3] 'Tracts,' pp. 361, 362.

[4] It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this unknown person was the young Earl of Essex, who was educated at Cambridge.

and Waldegrave had left Penry and, we must now add, Throckmorton in a quandary. It was not until the middle of May that they learnt the true condition of affairs. Hodgkins was immediately secured to take Waldegrave's place,[1] but there was nothing for him to do, because all the available manuscripts had disappeared with Martin and the printer. Whether Waldegrave took one of the Marprelate presses with him to Rochelle we cannot tell. At any rate by midsummer Hodgkins had two presses at his disposal,[1] and yet nothing was taken in hand. For four months the Marprelate publishing house produced not a single sheet. But on 1st July the fleet arrived in England, and on board, we believe, came Williams' negligent servant with a bundle of his master's papers, some of which had been lost, and all of which were sodden with sea-water. Perhaps he had commands to take those dealing with the 'Actions of the lowe countries' to Williams' house at St. Paul's Wharf, and to convey those concerned with the bishops and Dr. Prime into Penry's hands. In any case, 'More Worke for the Cooper,' the 'Theses' and other manuscripts, reached Penry soon after the beginning of the month; and the Marprelate press could once more be set going.

Yet the manuscripts could not be put at once into the printer's hands, for several reasons. In the first place, they were so 'scrabbled and weather beaten' that 'they could scant be read to be printed,' and Martin Junior confesses that he found parts of

[1] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

the theses quite illegible.[1] It was therefore necessary that some person or persons familiar with Martin's handwriting should make a fair copy for the benefit of the compositors. That this was done, and done by Penry and Throckmorton, we have ample proof. Hodgkins told Symmes after the capture of the press that there were two copies of 'More Worke,' one of which had been seized by the authorities, and a second 'which would serve them at another time.'[2] The former, no doubt, was the fair copy in the hands of Penry or Throckmorton, the latter Martin's original manuscript, which lay safe in Throckmorton's study at Hasely. The captured printers were very closely examined concerning the handwriting of the tracts that passed through their hands. Their evidence proves fairly conclusively that all the manuscripts they saw were in the hand of either Penry or Throckmorton, though it is somewhat confusing as to the relative portions written by the two men.[3] 'More Worke for the Cooper' was evidently a long tract, and it would therefore take some time to copy out. Moreover—and here we come upon a second reason for delay—since the composition of 'More Worke' in February and March the anti-Martinist campaign had

[1] Tracts, pp. 324-5. The editor of Williams' imperfect 'Actions of the lowe Countries,' the manuscript of which presumably suffered in company with 'More Worke' and the 'Theses,' writes that it came to him 'in a ragged hand much maimed, both in sense and phrase' (Somers, 'Tracts,' I., p. 332), which is yet another point in favour of our theory.

[2] Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' p. 339.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 336-339. Cp. also Sutcliffe's evidence (Arber, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 178).

been in full swing. Poems and tracts had been issued on behalf of the bishops, and Martin himself had figured in several plays on the public stage. The sequel to 'Hay any Worke' could not properly be allowed to appear without some reference to these events, and the obvious way of meeting the difficulty was to pen a prefatory epistle such as that which had been added to the 'Epitome.' Martin's sons could not hear of their father; they were not certain if he were alive or dead. The duty of writing such an epistle, therefore, devolved upon them, and it was undertaken, as we shall presently see, by Throckmorton.

But the transcription of 'More Worke' and the composition of its prefatory epistle meant delay, and Martin's sons were in feverish haste to produce something at once. They had been waiting in vain for four intolerable months to hear from their 'Vather' 'by some Pistle, though it were but of twenty sheets of paper,' waiting also while 'the adversary did too much triumph and insult' in pamphlets and plays, to which no reply was forthcoming. The papers at last arrived, and while Throckmorton was busily engaged upon 'More Worke,' Penry took in hand the 'Theses,' penning an 'epilogue' intended to give puritans some explanation of Martin's long silence, and to encourage his father to play the man once again, if he had escaped out of the danger of gunshot. This appeared on 22nd July, before which, we must suppose, Throckmorton, having finished his epistle to 'More Worke,' had also written 'Martin Senior,' the lively and amusing 'reproofe' of the

pretty stripling his brother for daring to publish his father's 'Theses.' We have already seen strong reasons for thinking that Throckmorton was Martin Senior and Penry Martin Junior. But quite apart from the style of the tracts there can be no reasonable doubt about the matter. Martin Marprelate himself being out of the way, Penry and Throckmorton are the only men in the least likely to have continued his dangerous work; and we know from the testimony of the printers that both supervised the production of the tracts, altered the sentences under the compositors' eyes, and corrected the orthography.[1] Furthermore, since Penry was considerably younger than Throckmorton, it was natural that he should assume the title of Martin Junior. His Christian name too was John, which accounts for Martin Senior addressing him as 'Jacke.' Lastly, while, as we have seen, Throckmorton disclaimed any personal acquaintance with Martin Marprelate, Martin Senior concludes his tract with this advice to his 'younger brother':—'Be silent and close: hear many, confer with few. And in this point do as I do; know not thy father, though thou mayest.'[2] Now the one man in all the Martinist circle who is likely to have been in touch with Martin Marprelate, was John Penry. His nationality, the withdrawal of the third part of 'The Exhortation,' and his control of the Marprelate press, all go to prove it. When Martin Senior, therefore, states

[1] Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' p. 336. 'Arber,' *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[2] Tracts, p. 380.

that he has no knowledge of Martin Marprelate, and admits that Martin Junior may have, we have yet another indication that these two tracts were the work of Penry and Throckmorton.

VII.

The crux of the whole Marprelate problem is the authorship of 'The Protestation,' the last and, on account of the numerous and baffling clues it contains, the most fascinating of the series. After the publication of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' at the end of July, Hodgkins moved to the neighbourhood of Manchester, where he was captured with his compositors on 14th August while in the act of printing 'More worke for the Cooper.' 'The Protestation' was written after this untoward event, and appeared some time before the middle of October. We saw that in September Henry of Navarre and Sir Roger Williams were at Dieppe. It was, therefore, possible for the Welsh knight to communicate, had he wished, with his friends in England, and to send them the manuscript of 'The Protestation.' Yet, in spite of the fact that the tract is called 'The Protestation of Martin the Great,' and is 'published by the worthie gentleman D Martin Marprelat D. in all the faculties primat and metropolitan,' I am now convinced that the original Martin Marprelate, be he Williams or some other, had no part in its composition. In 'The Library' of July, 1907, I showed that the signatures and type of the tract revealed the hand of two different

printers. Since then an even more interesting fact has forced itself upon my attention—namely, that the tract is also the work of two different writers. Read it down to the foot of p. 14, and you will not find a single indication of Martinism in it. The tone is lofty and intensely serious; the style is biblical and rhetorical; the sentences are long and, though admirably constructed, are complex, full of conjunctions, subordinate clauses and adverbial phrases. On p. 10 commences the celebrated 'Protestation' itself, printed for the sake of emphasis in larger type than the rest. The man who wrote this meant what he said and picked his words carefully. It is noticeable, therefore, that he avoids using the obvious expression, 'I, Martin Marprelate,' and prefers to say instead, 'I who do now go under the name of Martin Marprelate.' What does it all mean? It means that Penry is writing. The style is his, the passion behind it is his and his alone, the sentence structure is that found in his acknowledged writings. Mr. Pierce, while insisting that 'the writer of the "The Protestation" is the same who wrote "The Epistle,"' admits that 'there are sections in the earlier part of the tract which conceivably could have been written by Penry.[1] The admission is a valuable one, for without the right clue in his hands, Mr. Pierce naturally finds it difficult to get over the evidence of the title-page. A careful analysis of Penry's style has completly convinced me that the whole of the first part (*i.e.*, the first fourteen pages) is by the young Welsh reformer.

[1] 'Historical Introduction,' p. 306.

Despairing of learning anything more of the real Martin, and believing no doubt that he had died in the suburbs of Lisbon, Penry has taken the cause on his own shoulders, has adopted the name of Martin Marprelate—for it is only a name—and has issued his courageous protestation to the bishops as the firstfruit of his new calling.[1]

Now turn to p. 15, and you will find yourself in an entirely different atmosphere. The preacher has left the pulpit and a jester has taken his place. The sentences are shorter, simpler, crisper; the tone is light and bantering; and towards the end of the tract the style has become as rollicking as Martin at his best. Is it then Martin himself? By no means. Martin, we discovered, has his zany, a zany wittier, slyer and more subtly comic than his master. It is 'M. Some laid open in his coulers' that the latter half of 'The Protestation' reminds us of. But we have more definite ground to go upon than mere resemblance of style. There is not the slightest doubt that the two pieces of writing are by the same author, because they contain the same material, the same jests, almost the same sentences. Take for example the following passages, both of which refer to the unfortunate Dr. Some. The writer of 'The Protestation' says:—'The man, in all likelihood, never goeth without a little saunce bell in his pocket and that doth nothing else but *Ting, Ting, Ting!* And

[1] It should be noticed that this is by no means Penry's first 'protestation' or challenge. Scarcely one of his tracts is without an appeal for an open disputation, and 'Martin Junior' is no exception to the rule (see 'Tracts,' p. 330).

what doth it *Ting?* If you give good ear, nothing else, I warrant you, but "my sermons," "my writings," "my reasons," "my arguments"; and all is "my, my, my," as if the depth of all learning were included in the channel of his brain.'[1] Now for 'M. Some laid open,' where we find this passage:—'If a man mark it, there is much ado throughout his whole book with *his writings*, *his words*, *his reasons*, *his answers*, *his sermons* etc, which it seemeth he would fain fasten upon posterity for laws and statutes as if the ground of all good knowledge were graven in the very wrinkles of his forehead.'[2] Exactly the same point is made against Dr. Some in both cases. More than that, the idea has matured in the mind of the author since he wrote 'M. Some laid open,' collected different images around it, and become increasingly steeped in comic imagination. This is the most glaring parallel between the two tracts, but many others might be quoted if space permitted.

It will now be clear that the second writer of 'The Protestation' was Job Throckmorton. It is true that the West English dialect form 'chauve' is used on one occasion,[3] but this simply shows that Throckmorton was attempting to live up to the name of Martin Marprelate, and borrowed the word from his 'father.' The rest of the vocabulary is essentially his own, and the peculiar forms 'muse,' 'putcase,' and 'appeach,' which we have shown to be favourites with him, all make their

[1] 'Tracts,' p. 415; 'Protestation,' p. 29.
[2] 'M. Some laid open,' p. 45.
[3] Tracts, p. 413.

appearance.[1] And if, as is indisputable, Throckmorton wrote the second part of 'The Protestation,' he must also have written the epistle to 'More Worke for the Cooper,' since the author of the second part gives a detailed and loving account of the said epistle, which he claims as his own, and which had, of course, been seized by the authorities while on the press. 'I sigh,' he remarks, 'to remember the loss of it, it was so pretty and witty,' a regret we must share with him, for if the feast itself corresponded in any measure with the menu of it given in 'The Protestation,' it must have been the most spicy and toothsome of all the Marprelate tracts. Probably it was based to some extent upon what Throckmorton could remember of his 'M. Some laid open,' for it is in the passages where he refers to it that we find the striking parallels to the Rochelle tract. When writing the epistle to 'More Worke,' Throckmorton, no doubt, never expected to see his 'M. Some laid open' again. He must have known that it had reached Martin's hands; but if he looked for it among the papers which came with the fleet on 1st July he looked in vain, because, of course, Waldegrave had secured it and was then printing it. But when Penry and Throckmorton were in the middle of 'The Protestation,' Waldegrave arrived at Hasely with the printed copies of 'Th' Appellation' and 'M. Some.' He found his former patrons in great difficulties, trying to master the mysteries of a printer's forme. They had managed to set up, after a fashion, and strike off the half-sheets of

[1] Tracts, pp. 407, 409, 410.

signature A, and possibly they had begun to puzzle out the composition of the second half sheet. Here, however, the practised craftsman came to the help of the amateurs, and no doubt printed off the rest while they composed under his direction.[1] When these facts are remembered it will be understood how it was that the pen changed hands exactly at the foot of the printed page. Penry and Throckmorton must have composed the formes as they wrote, if indeed they took the trouble to write at all!

Before we leave 'The Protestation,' one more word must be said about this change of authorship between pages 14 and 15. I know of nothing more laughable and amusing in the whole story of the Marprelate controversy, or more suggestive as to the kind of men we have to deal with in this business, than the point we are now about to bring forward. The sheet-anchor of all enquirers into the authorship of the tracts has hitherto been the statement made in 'The Protestation' that Martin, though a bachelor at the moment of writing, was intending to be married shortly. The statement in question commences on p. 14 and is concluded on p. 15. But it must be quoted in full if the joke is to be properly appreciated; and the turn of the page, at which point the pen passed from the hand of Penry to that of Throckmorton, may be indicated by an upright line.

'I am blamed of many in this mine attempt, not only for throwing myself into great danger; but

[1] For the arguments upon which these statements are based, see 'The Library,' Series II., vol. viii., pp. 354-6.

also for the utter undoing of my wife and children. I do thank them with all my heart, for their care over those poor souls, and commend them for their secrecy and wisdom that, in knowing my wife and children, they have not, by showing their unmeasurable love towards them, discovered me. You see what it is, when wise men have the handling of a matter. I perceive, if these men were not very provident and wary, that Martin could not be long unknown. For I tell you, if a man's wife and children be once known, it is not possible that he can be secret any long time. And yet, methinks, that all their wisdom, and all their care over my wife and children, when the matter is well weighed, is scant worth three straws. For what if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life, are they not then something too much overweened in their own conceit, who give out that he hath both? Will you believe me then, if I tell you the truth? To put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest unto you, with a good conscience, that howsoever the speech may seem strange unto many, yet the very truth is that hitherto I never had wife nor child in all my life. Not that I never mean to have any; for it may be, notwithstanding all the rage and barking of the Lambethetical whelps, I may be married, and that ere it be long.'[1]

This passage clinches the argument for a double authorship of 'The Protestation.' The first two sentences, which occur on p. 14, certainly imply that the writer is a married man. The 'many'

[1] 'Tracts,' pp. 405-6.

who blame him for his dangerous enterprise are his friends, no doubt, who are assisting to provide for his wife and children; for he thanks them with all his heart 'for their care of those poor souls.' He writes with unmistakably genuine feeling. His friends have shown 'unmeasurable love' towards his family, who are doubtless well known and watched by the pursuivants, eager to catch the writer. He commends his friends for their secrecy and wisdom; by their care of his poor wife and children they have evidently made it easy for him to separate himself from them and to keep out of danger. All this is exactly what Penry would say in September, 1589. He was in imminent peril, hunted from pillar to post, lurking in obscure taverns and secret holes and corners. Soon after 'The Protestation' appeared he was on his way to Scotland, apparently leaving his wife and child behind him in his father-in-law's house at Northampton.[1] But turn now to the sentences on p. 15. Quite apart from questions of style, it is impossible to suppose that the same man is writing. 'What if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life?' Well might this 'speech seem strange unto many' after what had gone before. And then comes the definite statement—'I have never had wife nor child in all my life,' yet 'I may be married, and that ere it be long.' These words are as equally applicable to Throck-

[1] Penry married on 5th September, 1588. He had four children, only one of whom could have been born at the date of 'The Protestation,' see Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' pp. 208, 209.

morton's case as those above had been to Penry's. At the time when 'The Protestation' was being written, Throckmorton was, in truth, unmarried; but before the end of the year he took to wife Dorothy Vernon, of Houndhill, Staffordshire.[1] It should be noticed that he makes two implications—first, that 'Martin' had never been married; and, second, that 'I,' that is Throckmorton, had never married, but intended to do so. To the end of the tract Throckmorton is careful not to speak of himself directly as Martin. Thus he kept strictly to the truth in everything; for 'Martin' to him was Sir Roger Williams, who died a bachelor.

This is the best joke and the cleverest piece of mystification that the Martinist circle ever perpetrated, and Throckmorton, to whose genius it was no doubt due, was justly proud of the achievement, as he shows us by again referring to his marriage in his quaint chuckling fashion at the end of the tract. But it is time to draw this lengthy enquiry to a close. Nothing more need be said here, except to gather up the threads of our tangled argument in a table which will show the reader at a glance to whom the various tracts are attributed.

'The Epistle'	Sir Roger Williams
'The Epitome'	Sir Roger Williams
'The Minerals'	Sir Roger Williams Job Throckmorton ? John Penry

[1] Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

'Hay any worke for Cooper'?	Sir Roger Williams
'M. Some laid open in his coulers'	*Preface and title*, Sir Roger Williams *Body of tract*, Job Throckmorton
'Martin Junior' .	*Theses*, Sir Roger Williams *Prologue and Epilogue*, John Penry
'Martin Senior' .	Job Throckmorton
'Epistle to More worke'	Job Throckmorton
'More worke for the Cooper'	Sir Roger Williams
'The Protestation' .	*pp. 1-14*, John Penry *pp. 15-32*, Job Throckmorton

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